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SOVIET ARTICLES ON ASIA AND AFRICA

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## FOREWORD

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## SOVIET ARTICLES ON ASIA AND AFRICA

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## I. 1960 -- AFRICA'S YEAR

(On the Results of the Second Conference of the Peoples of Africa)

Pages 8-9

Unsigned Article

"1960 will be Africa's year!" These were the words which you could hear from Africans many months back. They expressed the poignant hope that it would be in that year that yet another series of African nations would achieve their independence.

That long-awaited year has arrived. For Africans, it began in remarkable fashion: the Second Conference of the Peoples of Africa was held in Tunis from 25 to 31 January.

As they gathered in the Labor Exchange Building in the city of Tunis, the delegates to this conference represented not just narrow social groups but large political parties, trade unions, and mass public organizations from more than 30 nations of the "dark" continent -- from Cap Bon to Cape Agulhas, and from Cap Verde in the west to Cape Guardafui in the east. Participating in the conference were both parties which were in power in nations which had already attained independence (there are now 10 such nations on the African continent) and parties against whom the colonial powers have continued to apply the most brutal of terror up to the present day. Sitting side by side with Ismail Toure, Minister of the Government of the Republic of Guinea, and K. Botsio, Minister of Ghana, were representatives of Algeria, Nyasaland, and Kenya.

Resolved in Tunis were the most vital problems of the Africa of today. Discussed, for example, were the following questions: 1) The struggle for independence; 2) Neo-colonialism and the struggle against it; 3) Economic and social development; 4) The unity of Africa. As announced at the first meeting by Guinea Minister Abdullai Diallo, Secretary-General of the Conference's Permanent Secretariat, the aim of the conference was to work out specific forms and methods for the struggle against colonialism.

The envoys of the nations of Africa unanimously acknowledged that the most pressing of their tasks is the liberation of those African peoples who up until now have been living under a colonial regime. In the general resolution adopted by the conference, the delegates demanded the immediate departure of the colonialists from the entire continent. As a concrete measure for the achievement of this aim, the resolution proposed that all independent African nations carry out joint action. Provided for was the creation of a special organization for the coordination of aid, and for the organization of voluntary military units to aid fighters in their struggle for the liberation of colonies.

It is already known that 1960 will be marked by the appearance on the map of Africa of five new sovereign states. The trust territory of the Cameroons, which was under the administration of France, became

independent on 1 January. Proclamation of the independence of Togo (a trust territory administered by France) has been set for 27 April, and that of Somalia (administered by Italy), for 1 July. On 1 October, the English colony of Nigeria, the world's largest colony from the standpoint of population -- 35 million people -- is to enter upon the path of independent development. And, finally, while the work of the Second Conference of the Peoples of Africa was still going on, the Belgian Government, as a result of the struggle for liberation of the Congolese peoples, was forced to give its agreement, conceding the independence, as of 30 June, of the Congo -- largest of the territories under the colonial domination of the imperialists on the African continent.

Five new independent states in the course of one year -- such is the colossal achievement of struggling Africa!

But the conference did not limit itself to a demand for political independence for the African peoples, it persistently cautioned them against the maneuvers of the mother countries' ruling circles, which seek to give Africans only formal independence rather than true liberation. As Moroccan delegate M. Douiri declared, in those instances where the colonialists are forced to agree to the independence of any nation, they seek, as a rule, to leave their puppets behind, and this sometimes "is more dangerous than direct political domination."

The conference struck a blow at neo-colonialism also. Its participants spoke out energetically against those powers which intend to subordinate the economy of African nations to their own, and thus assert their dominance over the continent. Uganda delegate Kambona emphasized, in connection with this, that only the combining of the struggle for political freedom with the struggle for economic independence can be a real guarantee against the spread of power of the neo-colonialists.

Speeches of the delegates echoed the thought that so long as the economy of the African nations is tied to a single crop, those nations cannot become truly independent. They will attain real freedom only when they put an end to the narrow specialization of their economy which was forced upon them by the colonialists, only when the word "Liberia" will no longer be associated with the word "rubber," "Sudan" with the word "cotton," "Ethiopia" with the word "coffee," "Ghana" with the word "cocoa," etc. Creation of an independent national economy is the only possible means for the achievement of a comprehensive full-blooded independence. The conference designated measures for the economic development of the African nations. In a resolution, unanimously supported by the delegates, special emphasis was placed on the fact that the African peoples should rely less on aid from without, and should strive to mobilize fully their internal resources, particularly the development of trade and economic mutual aid; should gradually abolish tariff barriers within Africa; should create an inter-African market, an all-African investment bank, an all-African transport company, a joint institute for the training of cadres

for nations of the entire continent; and should call regular conferences of economic and finance ministers of all independent African nations. Together with this, the conference recommended to the independent African states that, in their mutual relations with foreign powers, they turn down those economic obligations which might damage the cause of the liberation and unity of Africa.

The question of the unity of the trade-union movement and the creation of an alliance of trade unions for all of Africa occupied an important spot in the work of the conference. Guinea delegate Ismail Toure emphasized the importance of combining the class struggle with the anti-colonial struggle in Africa. Only such a combination, he noted, will make it possible to destroy the very foundation of colonialism. The resolution on the unity of the trade-union movement is the support behind the idea for convening a constituent Congress of the All-African Trade-Union Federation in May of 1960 in Casablanca. This federation, the resolution points out, should be autonomous and independent. The conference emphasized the "particular and decisive role placed upon the working class in the struggle of the African peoples for complete independence and unity of the entire continent, for democracy and social progress."

In its resolution on the Algerian question, the conference expressed its fervid solidarity with the peoples of Algeria in their struggle, and recommended that all independent African states recognize the provisional government of that nation, render it all possible support, and create a corps of African volunteers to aid the Algerian liberation movement.

The delegates sent a message to Eisenhower and the Congress of the USA, protesting US support of French colonial policy in Algeria. "American arms," this message reads, "are being used by French to kill Algerians. American financial and economic aid is allowing France to continue the war. The diplomatic support of the United States is encouraging France to delay a just and peaceful resolution of the problems for which the Algerian people have been striving for over 5 years."

The conference adopted a resolution on measures to be used in the struggle for the liberation of the peoples of the South African Union, the Rhodesian Federation and Nyasaland, and a number of other nations. In its resolution on the Union of South Africa, the conference demanded that all Africa declare a boycott of goods produced by that nation as a sign of protest against the racism reigning there.

Underlined at the conference was the urgent necessity for the unity not only of the African peoples but of all peoples of Africa and Asia. A single front of Afro-Asian nations, the speakers said, would play a tremendous role both in the liquidation of colonialism and its aftereffects, as well as in the struggle for peaceful existence between all peoples.

On behalf of all Africa, participants in the conference declared the desire of Africans to live in peace and friendship with all peoples of the earth.

A conference of the peoples of Africa will be called every year. In January 1961, representatives of African nations will gather in Cairo. A permanent secretariat for the conference headed by A. Diallo, and a guidance committee composed of representatives of Guinea, Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Tunis, the Congo, Nyasaland, Morocco, Togo, Rhodesia, and a number of other nations, have been elected.

With the aim of creating the conditions for educating African youth in the spirit of solidarity and friendship, a mutual exchange of students and the conducting of a youth festival were recommended. It has been decided to hold the first festival of African youth in Conakry, capital of Guinea, in 1961. A decision was adopted on the compilation of works on the history of Africa which are free of the fictions and falsifications of the colonialists.

The Second Conference of the Peoples of Africa not only condemned colonialism and racism, but introduced concrete proposals on measures for combating those evils, both in the individual nations as well as on the whole continent. It points out directly for the peoples of Africa the danger of neo-colonialism, the need to continue the struggle even after attainment of political independence. The slogan "Africa Should be Free", Tanganyika delegate Oscar Kambona declared, is a call not only to free the continent as a whole from foreign domination, but to liberate the African peoples from hunger, disease, ignorance, and illiteracy.

The Tunis Conference rather vividly demonstrated that the peoples of Africa are smashing the bounds of the narrow little worlds in which the colonialists sought to confine them. The community of fate of all Africans languishing under a foreign yoke led to the development of a solidarity between them, and to an understanding that they had to achieve their freedom together and had to build their future together.

The entire conference in Tunis operated under the slogans "Freedom and Unity!" and "This Year Will be the Decisive Year in the Struggle for the Independence of Africa!"

Among the representatives of the peoples of other continents at the conference, participating as observers, was a delegation of the Soviet people headed by M. M. Musakhanov, a member of the Presidium of the Soviet Committee on Solidarity With Nations of Asia and Africa.

N. S. Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet Government, had this to say in a telegram of greetings addressed to the chairman of the conference:

"We the Soviet people rejoice sincerely at every achievement of the peoples of Africa in the liberation struggle for their national independence."

The sympathy of all of the earth's people of integrity is on the side of struggling Africa.



## II. THE 30TH OF JUNE -- CONGO INDEPENDENCE DAY

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Unsigned Article

On 27 January 1960, the Belgian-Congolese Conference Round Table in Brussels adopted an important decision: to proclaim the former Belgian colony of the Congo an independent state on 30 June 1960.

Such was today's preliminary result of the persistent and heroic struggle of the Congolese people. The colonialists sought by force to subdue the striving of the Congolese for independence. The Congo came to know the sorrow of a "Bloody Sunday" in the first days of January 1959. Afterwards there followed mass shootings in Matadi and Stanleyville. But it became clear, even to the colonialists, that now all the 13 million people of that nation had joined in the struggle for liberation.

The Congolese are faced with the need to apply yet a considerable degree of effort in order to convert the forthcoming general elections into a true expression of the will of Africans, and to achieve the creation of a democratic government. However, we shall not dispute the fact of the historic victory of the Congolese people.

One of the most moving moments of the conference's sessions was the appearance of that outstanding leader of the Congolese National Movement, Patrise Lumumba. Arrested and thrown into the local jail by colonial authorities during the bloody events which took place in Stanleyville in November 1959, Patrise Lumumba was freed upon the demand of the progressive organizations of the Congo. Immediately, by plane, he was taken away to Brussels. There, at the Round-Table Conference, this courageous man, whose body still bore the bleeding wounds inflicted upon him by the police, and on whose wrists could be seen the traces of manacles, stepped forth to make a speech.

"Proclamation of our independence will signify solution of the basic political problem of our people," Patrise Lumumba said. "Our chief concerns shall be achievement of economic independence and securing the well-being of our people!"



### III. NEPAL-ON A NEW PATH

Page 27

I. Red'ko

The Soviet people greeted with great satisfaction news of the trip to Nepal made by comrades K. Ye. Voroshilov, F. R. Kozlov, and Ye. A. Furtseva. The trip of the Soviet state delegation was made in return for the visit to our country of the King of Nepal, Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Diva, in the summer of 1958. The talks and negotiations carried on in Moscow between governmental figures of the Soviet Union and the King of Nepal disclosed the unanimity of both nations on questions connected with the relaxation of international tension, and confirmed their aspirations for general peace and friendship.

From that point on, Nepalese-Soviet relations have developed unfailingly in the spirit of mutual understanding and friendship. Graphic demonstration of this was the signing, on 24 April 1959, of a Soviet-Nepalese economic agreement. In accordance with this agreement the Soviet Union is to build in Nepal a number of industrial installations: a hydroelectric power station, a sugar refinery, and a cigarette factory. Of exceptional importance for the economic development of Nepal is the road construction called for in the USSR aid agreement, particularly the surveying which is to be done in connection with the construction of 1,500 kilometers of highways. The importance of these roads for the development of Nepal may be judged by just one fact: in the nation up until this time, there was no highway linking its eastern and western regions. The transfer of freight between those two regions, therefore, is done through India.

To pay for the equipment, material, and other types of technical aid, the Soviet Government made a gratuitous gift of 30 million rubles to the Government of Nepal. Together with the economic agreement between Nepal and the USSR there was concluded an agreement on the construction of a 50-bed hospital in Katmandu by Soviet specialists.

Recently our nation has been visited by many public and political figures of Nepal. A guest in our country last year was Bhikkshu Amritananda, President of the Association of Buddhists of Nepal. Before his departure for his homeland, he declared: "With all my heart I thank my Soviet friends for their hospitality and for their warm reception. My trip through your country has enabled me to see with my own eyes and convince myself of the fact that the Soviet people are engaged in peaceful, creative labor, and that they are striving to live at peace with all peoples. Reactionary propaganda abroad spreads rumors that there is no freedom of religion in your country. I have become convinced that this is vile slander which has nothing in common with actuality. In the Soviet Union full freedom is accorded the faithful. With all my heart and soul I welcome the proposal on complete and total disarmament proposed by the head of the Soviet Government, N. S. Khrushchev. Not only the Buddhists but all people should support the proposal of the Soviet Premier and step up the struggle for peace and disarmament."

Our scientists are making a worthy contribution towards the strengthening of Soviet-Nepalese friendship. Works on the history and economics of Nepal are being published in the Soviet Union. The Nepalese literature and language are being studied, and a Nepalese-Russian dictionary is being compiled at the Institute of Orientalology of the Academy of Sciences USSR.

The Soviet people are manifesting ever greater interest in the life of the Nepalese people and in the problems of their national revival. They welcome the efforts of the Government of Nepal directed at the abolishment of the nation's economic backwardness and the strengthening of its independence.

Following the overthrow of the tyranny of the feudal family of the Ranas in 1951, there was resolved in Nepal one of the most important questions connected with the political life of the nation -- the question of general elections. These were carried out in conformance with the constitution promulgated by the King on 12 February 1959. The Constitution consolidated the political changes which had taken place in the nation and proclaimed a constitutional monarchy.

The general elections and the formation of a government from among members of the Nepalese Congress Party, which won a majority of the seats in parliament, created more favorable conditions for the introduction of important social and economic reforms.

One of these measures carried out by the Government of Nepal in the economic field was the adoption of the nation's Five-Year Plan for the Economic Development of the Nation for 1956-1957 and for 1960-1961. The Five-Year Plan devotes principal attention to the development of transport, agriculture, and hydroelectric power construction. The reorganization and renovation of the state apparatus has been carried out in Nepal. The founding of a State Bank aided in the strengthening of the currency and financial situation, and did away with a chronic budgetary deficit.

In November 1959, the Nepalese Government adopted a decision on the abolishment of the "birta" system of land ownership. This system of privileged landholding now holds sway over one fourth of all of the nation's arable land. Landowners with "birta" rights are completely absolved from the payment of any land tax to the government. Implementation of agrarian legislation will increase the nation's revenue by up to 10 million Nepalese rupees a year.

The Soviet people wish the peoples of Nepal every possible success along the path of strengthening their independence, economic rebirth, and social progress.

"The Soviet Government," N. S. Khrushchev said, considers the strengthening of relations with the Kingdom of Nepal as yet another step forward on the path of developing and expanding its ties with the Bandung nations. This is a healthy and natural process which will lead to the expansion of the zone of peace."

The visit to Nepal of the Soviet state delegation headed by K. Ye. Voroshilov will serve to further strengthen the friendship between the two nations, and is a new contribution in the struggle for peace and for the relaxation of international tension.

#### IV. PROBLEMS OF PLANNING IN THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA

(Response to P. C. Mahalanobis's Article)

Pages 31-32

J. Suret-Canale, Director  
of the Guinea State  
Institute of Scientific  
Research and Documentation

(Issue No. 9, September 1959, of Sovremennyy Vostok published the article "A Study of the Problem of Industrialization of the Under-developed Countries" by that outstanding Indian economist, Professor P. C. Mahalanobis.

(The article by the Indian scholar evoked wide response from the international scientific public, part of which was published in previous issues of the journal.)

The questions raised by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis have tremendous significance for all nations with a backward economy. Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that the urgency of these problems for one or another of the countries of the East depends upon the basic law of the state and on the level of its economic development.

For example, the Ivory Coast (the territory of French West Africa) has a ministry for planning headed by an official of the French colonial administration. The ministry has done a great deal of work in the field of economic and statistical research, has to a certain degree promoted the development of industry, and now and then concerns itself with the introduction of equipment into agriculture. But all of this work is subordinated to one general aim: to promote the influx of foreign capital, guarantee it high profits, and to provide with state credits private construction firms and enterprises engaged in the manufacture of various implements. The colonial authorities swear that all these measures raise the living standards of the population. Actually, at a time when the profits of foreign companies are breaking all records and a small stratum of privileged Africans are living in comparative plenty, the basic mass of the populace -- the farmhands on the plantations and the workers of Tresville (a suburb of Abidjan, center of the Ivory Coast territory, which is populated by the poor) continue to vegetate in horrible poverty. Consequently no sort of "planning" whatsoever under colonialism can promote the standard of living of the basic producers of material wealth.

In distinction from the Ivory Coast, Guinea has no ministry for planning. At the present time, there is only now being mapped out the paths along which the work of the planning service under the Ministry of General Economics will proceed. The Fifth Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea (RDA), held in September 1959, adopted a decision on the working out of a three-year plan for the development of the republic. It is proposed to hold a conference of specialists to work out the final version of the plan.

Concrete proposals for the plan have as yet not been determined, but its general direction has been clearly set. The aim of planning is to provide for the economic independence of Guinea and to raise the standard of living of its population. A state foreign trade bank has already been established in the republic. This measure permitted the republic to limit the arbitrariness of export-import companies receiving fabulous profits, and to considerably lower prices for goods of primary necessity (rice, sugar, and the like).

It is necessary to emphasize that the problems arising in the Republic of Guinea in connection with planning are different from the problems confronting India, for example. This can be explained by the differing levels of economic development of both countries.

Take for example the question of the correct correlation between the development of heavy and light industry. At the present time, this question is not a pressing one for Guinea, inasmuch as the nation has practically no industry, except for mining. An aluminum plant was put into operation recently in Fria. But, understandably, a single plant is not in a position to change the agrarian structure of our economy. Our country has only a few repair shops, some primitive oil mills, a soda-water and fruit-juice plant. We have no metallurgical and textile industry.

Guinea's basic problem at the moment is a struggle against the dominance of foreign export-import companies, which are doing everything in their power to block the economic development of the nation. In order to displace these foreign trade firms, the republic intends to use state foreign trade institutions -- which, by the way, enjoy a monopoly in trade with the USSR and other socialist nations -- as well as to develop peasant cooperatives.

These innovations have not as yet changed the character of the Guinean economy, which will, as in the past, be based on the sale of raw material (principally agricultural) and the purchase of industrial goods. But they will permit us to do away with, or to at least to limit sharply, the exploitation of the people of Guinea by foreign capital. This capital, meanwhile, still holds the monopoly on the foreign trade of our nation. The measures indicated, to a certain degree, will aid in the accumulation by the nation of capital, which can then be used in the financing of a national industry.

Having soberly evaluated our economic potential, we came to the conclusion that in the next few years it will be possible for Guinea to achieve the construction of at least a few small enterprises for the processing of agricultural products and the manufacture of simple types of consumer items. In order to do this, our nation will have to make maximum usage of its income from handicraft and local industry.

Nor is Guinea neglecting large projects connected with industrialization (the construction of a dam on the Konkoure River and the development of the aluminum industry); these cannot, however, be problems of the first moment at this time. It must be noted, by the way,

that all efforts of colonialist circles to render aid to the republic in the construction of a dam, under the condition that the republic change its foreign policy, have proven unsuccessful.

The Republic of Guinea is agreeable to accepting foreign capital and to guarantee it a corresponding profit, but only if it is not linked to any political demands and if it is directed towards the financing of those branches of industry the development of which is our urgent task.

Virtually the entire population of the nation (95%) makes its living from agriculture. It is fully understandable, therefore, why the development of this field of our economy is the basic component of our three-year plan.

In Guinea, an agrarian problem on a state-wide scale, in its traditional meaning, does not exist. Private land ownership exists only in the cities and in several regions where crops are raised for export. But even here the growth in private land ownership acts as a brake to a recent governmental decree forbidding the sale and transfer of land to other persons. On the greater part of the territory of our nation, land ownership has been retained in the form in which it existed prior to colonization. This patriarchal, or communal, collective ownership is a private but inalienable ownership, under which there is no sale or mortgaging of the land.

Abolishment of the institution of tribal leaders and attainment of state independence by Guinea brought about a rapid growth in our productive forces and in increasing the volume of agricultural production.

At the present time, technical progress in agriculture (the use of fertilizers, proper crop rotation, mechanization, the creation of productive cattle raising) is hinged to our financial problem. Peasants, whose yearly income averages 10,000-20,000 colonial francs, are in no condition to accumulate the amounts of money necessary for the improvement of agricultural techniques and for a struggle against exhaustion of the soil. The problem of the creation of a highly-productive agriculture can be resolved in two ways only: first, by increasing the income of the peasants through limiting the arbitrariness of the trade companies; secondly, by practicing a supplementary, voluntary, collective labor during the "dead seasons" period (Editor's note: the period between seasonal field work, as, for example, between the sowing and the harvesting of the crop.) A good preparation for joint labor is the development of the cooperative movement and collective utilization of the profits from agricultural products. In the villages of Guinea, collective fields and plantations are already being organized, with their income going toward satisfaction of the common needs of the entire village. From what has been said above, one might conclude that not all the details of the three-year plan can be expressed precisely in figures. This is impossible under the present condition of the Guinean economy. Reliable statistical data on the products put out by



our nation are lacking. Estimates have been based chiefly on tariff statistics. While tariff data on products being exported are sufficiently exact, similar data on food crops (in a nation like Guinea, where the basic mass of the populace exists under conditions of a natural economy, food crops have important significance) are not being kept and cannot be kept except in very approximate figures.

We also lack precise data on the nation's market and trade balance. Up until 28 September 1958, Guinea was a part of French West Africa. From the documents which were being kept, it is scarcely possible to determine this or that territory's share of trade. It is impossible to determine the precise trade balance for French West Africa as a whole (this interferes with the free exchange of currency between the colonies and other nations of the franc zone).

Thus, although the problem of industrialization of which Professor P. C. Mahalanobis speaks is not a primary one at the present time for Guinea, the results of research devoted to balances, and the technical and economic standards in planning introduced in other underdeveloped countries, are of great interest to us. It goes without saying that the results attained by others will have to be adapted to the needs and the level of the economic development of Guinea.

One can formulate the urgent tasks confronting the Republic of Guinea at the present time in the following words: It is necessary to uncover all reserves, to apply all possible measures towards increasing production immediately, to liberate the people of Guinea from the iron grip of the colonialists' trade companies. In other words, Guinea needs a state-wide stock-taking, national statistics, and freedom from the pressures of foreign monopolies.

The working out of a harmonious development of the economy (the proportional development of industry and agriculture); the creation of an industry which provides for all stages of production, from the extraction of raw material to the manufacture of industrial products, i.e. the creation of a comprehensively developed and independent economy -- all this is for us a matter of the future.

All this gives me the right to state, with good reason, that the problems raised by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis directly concern the tomorrow of the African people, a tomorrow to which are linked the dreams of the well-being and happiness of millions of ordinary people.

## V. WHAT HAPPENED IN CEYLON

Pages 52-53

I. Alekseyev

(At the request of readers A. Kuliyeu (Ashkhabad) and I. Sizov (Minsk), we include this article, which recounts recent events in Ceylon.)

On 25 September of last year, a villainous attack was made upon the life of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, S. Bandaranaike. The shots which echoed through one of the quiet streets of Colombo changed sharply the internal political situation in that nation, and drew the attention of world public opinion to Ceylon.

The reactionary press sought to present the assassination of S. Bandaranaike as the local act of a Buddhist monk. These efforts, however, were exposed. "Behind these crimes," Keuneman, Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Ceylon, declared in Parliament, "stand those same forces who since 1956 have been working indefatigably to prevent attainment of the aims for which the people voted, to remove from the government those who are fighting to attain those aims, to push the government steadily to the right, to create the conditions and to clear a path for a coalition of the forces of the right, and to establish anew reaction in the nation.

The trial of the murderers has begun, and the results of it, evidently, shed additional light on certain dark and involved circumstances of this case. But it has already been established that the attack was the result of a plot by reactionary forces, who demanded that Bandaranaike refute all progressive measures and return to the anti-national course of the former government, that of the United National Party, which expressed the interests of the upper bourgeoisie and landowners.

Behind the murders, preliminary investigation revealed, also stood the reactionary Buddhist clergy, dissatisfied with the adoption by the Bandaranaike government of a progressive agrarian law on rice lands. The press of Ceylon stated that the moving force behind the plot was the head of a Buddhist temple in Kelani, one Buddkarakit, and Vimala Wijewardene, former Minister of Local Government and Housing Construction.

Participation in the plot of one of its ministers seriously weakened the position of the government, which, following the death of Bandaranaike, was headed by Wijawanda Dahanayake, who had held the post of Minister of Education up to that time. The decline in the prestige of the government was also aided by the fact that the new Prime Minister failed to include anything specific in his program. Only such general promises as maintenance of law and order, support of racial and national harmony, equality of religions, etc., were given. Nor was the position saved by the promise "to surprise" the people with achievements in the matter of lowering living costs and alleviating

the housing crisis. The latter promises bore a purely declarative character, and were met with complete scepticism in the various political circles. Dissatisfaction with the government acquired an ever wider scale.

To muffle criticism and to consolidate his position, Dahanayake resorted to extreme measures. He prolonged the state of emergency which was declared in the nation following the attack upon Bandaranaike. The activity of mass political and trade-union organizations was subjected to serious limitations. Strict press censorship was introduced into the country. For 2 weeks, all newspapers were published without editorials. The editors in turn refused to publish governmental announcements.

It was through these actions that Dahanayake turned a considerable portion of the populace against him. "It is now clear," the influential Ceylonese newspaper Dinanima wrote, "that the government of Dahanayake cannot run the country. Everything that it has done or said has evoked the dissatisfaction of the people." Even members of the governmental faction in parliament began to criticize Dahanayake. The newspapers published lists of the "rebels" who refused to vote with the government.

Opposition parties and groups began to demand the resignation of the government of Dahanayake. The Communist Party of Ceylon made more consistent demands. "Confronting the nation at this critical moment," a resolution of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Ceylon stated, "are the following basic tasks: to lift the state of emergency and to restore democratic rights; to remove all persons who took part in the plot to kill S. Bandaranaike, no matter how high the positions they hold; to create conditions for free and democratic general elections."

It was at that moment that the opposition in Parliament introduced a resolution calling for a vote of no confidence in Dahanayake. The resolution stated that he had no moral right to remain in power, because he did not enjoy the support of a majority of the members of the House of Representatives. The resolution failed to win a majority by only five votes. The government was kept in power only with the aid of six members who had been appointed to Parliament.

Realizing that his government had lost all prestige in the nation, Dahanayake decided to dissolve Parliament and to call a special election, although earlier he had declared repeatedly that this government intended to remain in power until the termination of its mandate period, i.e., until April 1961.

On the night of 4-5 December 1959, the Governor-General of Ceylon, Oliver Goonetilleke, dissolved Parliament upon the recommendation of Prime Minister Dahanayake. New parliamentary elections were set for 19 March 1960. Until the elections, Dahanayake and his cabinet will continue to fulfill their functions in the capacity of a provisional government.

In proposing to dissolve Parliament, Dahanayake placed himself in opposition to his colleagues in the "Sri Lanka Freedom" Party. A representative of that party announced that its members were surprised by the fact that Prime Minister Dahanayake had advised dissolving Parliament against the advice of his cabinet and party. If previously in parliament certain ministers had expressed their dissatisfaction with the delay in the investigation of Bandaranaike's murder, and the departure from the basic principles of his policies, by the beginning of December 1959 their dissatisfaction had increased to such a degree that they decided to organize their group on a formal basis. The program for this group was disclosed by Minister of Labor Ilangaratne. "Right now," he declared, "our task is to purge our party (the "Sri Lanka Freedom"--I. A. ) of all reactionary and undesirable elements, and then to appeal to the nation for a mandate for the further implementation of the socialist programs and plans of the deceased Prime Minister."

Having lost all his support in the "Sri Lanka Freedom" Party, Dahanayake decided to force events. At a special meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers held on 7 December 1959, he announced that he was leaving the "Sri Lanka Freedom" and was creating his own party to take part in the 1960 elections. Dahanayake announced, in particular, that he would come out in opposition to any nationalization whatsoever of the tea plantations, and against transfer of private schools to the government. Dahanayake demanded also a limitation of trade-union rights and the right of workers to strike. In other words, he was refuting the most important demands which S. Bandaranaike had formulated into a program during his lifetime.

On the following day, five ministers who had demanded continuation of the policy of Bandaranaike were dismissed. Soon after, still another minister--C. P. De Silva, resigned from the government. He left the government following the refusal of the Governor General to appoint him Prime Minister. De Silva demanded his appointment on the basis that, the evening before, he had been elected to the post of chairman of the "Sri Lanka Freedom" Party. This post had remained vacant following the death of S. Bandaranaike. At the same time, ignoring public opinion, Dahanayake brought Stanley De Zoysa into the government; the press of Ceylon had accused De Zoysa of participation in the murder of Bandaranaike.

"Having replaced five insurgent ministers," the London newspaper Daily Mail wrote, "Dahanayake brought into his transitional cabinet well-known anti-Communists who supported his policy repudiating nationalization."

Dahanayake's actions raised the suspicion among broad strata of the Ceylonese public that he was aspiring towards a personal dictatorship. In this connection, the bourgeois Ceylon Daily News pointed out "that the government which now exists in Ceylon under the mask of a provisional government can indeed become the weapon of the despotic

will of one man." The progressive weekly Forward spoke out more definitely; it wrote that the entire course of recent events resembled a secret plot whose aim was "to secure the return of the United National Party to power." Therefore, Forward pointed out, "there exists a critical need for the left and progressive forces to close ranks and to rebuff the forces of reaction." Former Minister Phillip Gunawardena declared: "On Ceylon efforts are being made to undermine democracy and to prevent the people from expressing their will through the exercise of their right to participate in general elections."

In contrast to past elections, the elections this year will be held on the basis of a revised system of electoral districts; as a result, 145 deputies instead of 95 are to be elected to the House of Representatives. Those, plus six members appointed from the various groups of the population, will give the new House of Representatives 151 deputies. Nomination of candidates began on 4 January 1960.

Eighteen political parties have registered to participate in the parliamentary elections. Registration gives parties certain advantages. A candidate of a party so recognized pays a pledge in cash of 500 rupees, while candidates of non-registered parties and non-party candidates pay a sum of 1,000 rupees.

On 19 December 1959, municipal elections were held in Ceylon which were looked upon as a dress rehearsal for the elections to Parliament. Out of 37 seats, 23 went to the United National Party. Parties of the left received only eight seats. Meanwhile, according to data from the weekly Tribune, candidates of the left received 43.8% of all votes, while the United National Party and its adherents got only 43%. "The experience of the recent series of elections to local organs of power," the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ceylon states, "showed that the United National Party does not enjoy the support of a majority of the people, that its victory may be attributed chiefly to the absence of unity among the progressive forces, and that the left progressive forces could inflict a shattering defeat upon that party if they were to unite." Absence of unity, the resolution goes on further to say, "will do serious damage to the entire democratic and left movement, and threatens the victories won with such difficulty by the people in recent years."

The Communist Party has worked out a minimum program and has proposed that the "Lanka Sama Samaja" Party, the "Mahajana Eksath Peramuna" Party, and other left forces immediately take steps based upon that program to achieve an agreement on a united front for the elections. The leaders of those parties, however, basing their action on narrow party interests, have turned down this proposal. The Communist Party of Ceylon was forced to announce that it would nominate candidates for all seats where there is any chance of a victory.

At the present time, the election campaign in Ceylon is in full swing. Agitation for candidates is being conducted, election blocs are being agreed upon, and pre-election meetings are being held. The progressive press is expressing the hope that the patriotic forces of Ceylon will be able to cope with any serious difficulties which may arise, and that they will defend the national interests of their motherland.



## VI. AFRICA: THE VATICAN'S CHIEF CONCERN

Pages 54-56

Roger Garaudy

(Forced to adopt tactics of accommodation towards the development of the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples, the leaders of the Catholic Church are instructing their agents to join this movement for the purpose of directing this mighty flow of the masses along a course suitable to the princes of the Church and their secular allies -- the imperialists. Having joined this movement, the Catholic Church is seeking to slow it down or to turn it aside from its correct and decisive path.

(In Africa the struggle for national independence in our time has reached such acuteness that the Vatican and its devoted servants are finding it ever more difficult to erect a dam across this mighty liberation torrent, or to lead off its turbulent flow into channels of conciliation and reconciliation to the oppressors.

(The well-known progressive scholar, Professor Roger Garaudy, has devoted the important article "The Church, Colonialism, and the National Liberation Movement" to this subject. The article was published in Issue No. 11 of the French journal Cadier du Communisme for 1959.

(We are publishing here a summary of that article.)

In our era, the era of Bandung, the Catholic Church's line of conduct towards colonialism and the national liberation movement has been marked by its exceptional complexity and by its multitude of nuances.

During the time of the beginning of the system of colonialism, that is, during the period of the "initial accumulation" of capital through the seizure and despoiling of the extensive territories of America, Asia, and Africa, the Catholic Church and the Papacy possessed tremendous power among the largest colonial powers, chiefly those of Spain and Portugal.

In the 16th century, when Spanish and Portuguese conquistadores began the mass destruction of the natives of America in order to acquire their wealth, the Spanish Prelate de las Casas (1474-1566) raised the question of whether the American Indians were being subjected to total destruction on the part of their conquerors.

Mass destruction of the native population raised several problems. First, an economic problem: depopulation brought about a catastrophic absence of workers. Secondly, there was the "moral" problem. How could such terrible crimes by the colonialists be justified?

The Papacy selected its answers to those questions.

First of all, it hastened to settle the problem of workers. For this purpose it simply made the ownership of slaves legal. Let us turn to the writings of Saint John Chrysostom or Saint Ambrose or Saint Augustine; the opinion of the fathers of the Catholic Church on this

question was put into this categorical form: "ownership of slaves is an act welcome to God." The Council of Fribourg proclaimed unequivocally in its third canon: "An anathema shall be pronounced against those who, under the pretext of piety, incite a slave not to respect his master and to refuse to serve him, instead of remaining an obedient and good servant, full of respect for his master."

Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), whom the Papacy continues to set before Catholics as one of its greatest religious thinkers, thus formulated the Church's basic doctrine on this subject: "Slavery is a natural relation between people" ("On Justice," Question 57, Point 3). And, in Point 4, he added: "The slave is an instrument of his master... A special right of supremacy exists in relations between master and slave." Such a definition gives the master the right to beat and torture his slave. (Thomas Aquinas touches upon that point especially in Question 65, Point 2.)

Thus, at that time, when the shortage of workers in the colonies, depopulated as a result of the domination of the Spanish conquistadores, demonstrated that ownership of slaves was a profitable thing, the fathers of the Church already had prepared the theoretical basis for the legalization of slavery.

On 8 January 1454, Pope Nicholas V, in a special papal bull (decree of the Roman Pope) -- Editor), called upon Catholics to turn their attention to those in perpetual slavery: "Saracens, heathens, and other enemies of Christ." In the 16th century, in the period of the seizure of colonies, Pope Clement V extended the action of this bull to cover all "heretics."

It was on this basis that His Catholic Majesty Charles V, on the advice of his confessor, Father Garcia de Luis, declared as hereditary slaves of the white colonists all Indians living on lands seized by the Spaniards in America.

The brief (a papal message -- Editor) sent by Pope Paul III, which forbade turning Indians into slaves, came too late. Indian slaves, who proved to be too weak to carry out the corvee forced upon them by the white colonists, had been replaced by Negro slaves, who were sturdier and stronger. The black slaves were seized by force in Africa, put into chains, and transported to America.

Church doctrine on the problem of colonialism was worked out very long ago. As far back as the end of the 15th century, the Spanish theologian Francois de Vittoria formulated the theory behind the right to seize colonies, based on the following basic theses:

The Lord created the universe for the benefit of all people, and therefore not the least obstacle should be placed before the activity of those among them who can realize the richness of the world in the best manner.

The Bible teaches us "to educate and to teach all peoples." Therefore no obstacle whatsoever should be placed before those people who are bringing the Christian religion to the non-believers.

We are speaking of the very existence, in those countries, of the Catholic Church. In order not to be hurled out of Africa simultaneously with the Western colonialists, it is important for the Church to demonstrate that it is "breaking off" its old ties with them.

In appealing to participants in the Second Congress of African Writers and Artists in Rome on 3 April 1959, Pope John XXIII announced that the Catholic Church is not identifying itself with any particular culture taken by itself, but that it regards all cultures with favor. Such an orientation is necessary in order to retain control over African Catholics included in the general movement for independence.

Over recent years, declarations of the Catholic clergy in support of the movement for the independence of the colonies are being published more frequently.

The Catholic clergy of Madagascar, appealing to its flock in November 1953, wrote: "We recognize the validity of the striving for independence, as well as of all other creative efforts directed towards its attainment." On 8 April 1955, Crieur published the letter of the Cameroon Apostolic vicars which stated: "Among the people of the Cameroons at the present time the single striving -- to achieve independence -- is displayed almost everywhere. The Church recognizes such a striving on the part of the people of the Cameroons as just and substantiated, and can only encourage them in that direction..."

In Dakar, the directors of the 23 Catholic missions operating in French West Africa and in Togo, had this to say in appealing to Africans: "You hope for autonomy which would make you masters of your own affairs. Such a striving is a valid one." The Bishop of Upper Volta, on the day following the Referendum of 28 September 1958, published a collective letter on the question of independence. This letter notes that "striving for the independence of one's nation is a right and even a duty."

Though it has not remained outside the national liberation movement, the Catholic Church nevertheless fears for its own fate in Africa. It fears competition on the part of Islam, which has been achieving successes parallel with the growth of nationalism, leaving the Catholic Church little chance for success except in those areas of Africa where fetishism is still retained.

The Vatican is directing its efforts systematically toward seeking candidates for the post of priest and even that of bishop from local African nobility and the heirs of tribal leaders, thus seeking to prepare conditions for an actual unification of clerical and lay power. It is by no means accidental that, in one of the publications of the Catholic Church dated 30 May 1954, an article appeared on the directives issued by Cardinal La Vigery back in 12 March 1878 to white priests being sent to Africa as missionaries.

Cardinal La Vigery wrote: "What is most important is to win the souls of the local leaders... This matter should be pursued with special zeal, recognizing that if you bring one leader over to the side

review of the question of the role of the mission and the situation of the Catholic Church in foreign colonial holdings. It was the profound conviction of Father Lebb that, in order to protect the church against the uninterrupted string of defeats which the colonialist West was being subjected to, it was necessary to cease all efforts to "grind down the colonial peoples in accordance with Western models." Moreover, it was necessary to make the church "go native", i.e., embark upon the replacement of the former European missions by the local national Catholic Church. In short, in the light of the collapse of the colonial system, it was necessary to convince the "natives" that conversion to the Catholic faith does not signify the remaking of people in the European pattern.

It was in the Era of Bandung that the Church became aware of the need to change its colonial policy as quickly as possible.

In striving to secure replacement of its agents in the oppressed countries as soon as possible in this era of the collapse of colonialism, the Church is striving for the following four basic aims: not to detach itself from the national liberation movement of the peoples of Africa and Asia; to support to the maximum the upper strata of the population of these countries and to do everything possible to strengthen the ties between this "apex" and the forces of the Church; to aid American penetration into these countries in order to replace weak European colonialism with the might of the United States; to replace, particularly in Africa, the traditional colonial separatist exploitation with collective guardianship over the African continent on the part of "Europe" through the realization of the "Eurafrica" projects.

In our times these are the basic theses which permeate all measures of the Pope and of his bishops. The first of these four principles was formulated with maximum clarity in the editorial of the Catholic newspaper Crieur for 6 December 1956. "If France and the West are forced to leave Africa," Crieur said, "it is necessary that the Church remain and that it take deep root and become well grounded. But, in order to achieve this aim, it must not turn aside the strivings and the hopes of the local populace."

This means that in those instances when the Catholic Church responds to any national aspirations of the peoples, it is doing so not out of consideration of the principles involved, but is simply considering the inescapable changes which are taking place. In the 19th century the Church was unexpectedly overwhelmed by the wave of the workers' movement. Up until now it has not succeeded at all in taking this movement into its own hands. The Vatican, having been burned through this experience, is striving not to commit so irreparable a procrastination as concerns the rise in the national liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies.

Over the course of 5 centuries these two basic theses have invariably been quoted to justify all deeds of the colonialists.

In 1930 the Paris Catholic Institute approved as a dissertation for a doctor of philosophy degree for Josef Follier the subject "the right of colonization." Developing the basic theses of Francois de Vittoria, Follier writes: "Thanks to the extraction of benefit from natural resources, and in the name of the common good of all mankind, economically developed countries have the right to and should exploit the wealth of which savages are not aware or which they have and are neglecting." And further: "If the barbarians unjustifiably attack agents sent to civilize them...he (the occupier--P. G.) has the right to defend his own citizens, carry on a just war against the aggressors, and force them to submit to his authority.... The use of armed forces is possible under three circumstances: where there is complete insolvency of the local authorities and disastrous anarchy threatens, when armed intervention then becomes the legal duty of international well-wishers; where there is insufferable tyranny with respect to all noble and distinguished persons on the part of the local populace or a portion thereof, when mercy itself prompts the occupier into using his legal rights; where the people have come into possession of subversive ideas the spread of which threatens to infect neighboring peoples also. Under such circumstances, armed intervention is based on the right of defense against the corruption of society..."

Introducing into his article still another series of references to Catholic Church documents which contain "the theoretical basis" for colonial plundering and violence, Professor Roger Garaudy reminds us of the fact that lay and clerical "theoreticians" of colonialism alike lauded the "dirty war" in Indochina, or the shooting of 90,000 Malagasy on the island of Madagascar in 1947. Roger Garaudy writes further:

The practical activity of the Catholic Church fully befits its application to colonial theoretical doctrine. During the course of the entire period of the growth and scope of colonial seizures, the Church not only backed the "justice" of the activities of the colonialists' ideology, but even provided them with practical cooperation.

The situation began to change following the end of World War I, when the colonial system began to fall apart and the enslaved peoples saw before them the inspiring example of the victorious October Revolution in Russia.

Following the end of World War II, the national liberation movement attained the very broadest of scopes.

In connection with this, the Papacy had to review not only the concept of the role of its "mission," but its entire approach to the colonial problem as a whole.

The Jesuit father Lebb proved to be the precursor of the "new truth" in this field. Having considered the might of the national liberation movement of the peoples who were under the yoke of colonialism, the Catholic priest set forth a proposal calling for a basic



of your church, you will achieve a tremendously greater success for your mission than in converting hundreds of poor Negroes. As soon as the leaders are converted to Catholicism, they will bring all the rest with them. You should not let an occasion pass to explain to the leaders that the Christian doctrine favors their rule, inasmuch as it maintains that the leaders are the true representatives of God on earth, from the point of view of secular power."

Feigning adherence to the national liberation movement, the Catholic Church is keeping to a similar plan in recruiting cadres of African priests. With this the Church hopes to build a more reliable barrier across the path of development of the national liberation movement than the out-and-out colonialists sought to create.

To illustrate the tactics of the Catholic Church, it is sufficient to cite one example. In December 1956 the young African priest Ganden was appointed to the post of Bishop of Dahomey. Ganden is a descendant of the old dynasty. His appointment was undertaken with the sole purpose of setting up a prince-bishop in Dahomey.

The Catholic Church is striving to subordinate the African trade-union movement to its influence and direction. In January 1959, in Brazzaville (French Congo), the First Conference of African Trade Unions, affiliated with the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, was held. Adopted at the conference was a resolution to create a Pan-African Union of Christian Workers.

The conference's concluding resolution expressed, albeit in veiled form, the cherished aspirations of the fathers of the Catholic Church. Together with an alluring declaration to the effect that the conference saluted the "struggle of the African peoples for the achievement of their national independence," the resolution emphasized that the conference "repudiates materialistic concepts and will carry on a struggle against them."

In its struggle against Communism, the Vatican strives to be a partner of a very strong imperialism, namely, that of US imperialism. In such manner it hopes to effect a replacement of the European colonialism which has suffered defeat.

Most striking in this respect is the example of Indochina. The American Cardinal Spellman made repeated trips to Saigon in order to place the Catholic (and American agent) Ngo Din Dyem at the head of the South Vietnamese Government.

The last characteristic feature of the Catholic Church in its colonial activities is its striving to spread the "European" policy of the Papacy over the African continent. The encyclical (an appeal by the Roman Pope to all churches subordinate to him--Editor) of 23 April 1957 openly reveals that Africa is the chief object of concern of the Vatican. "I consider the time opportune," the Pope wrote, "to direct your eyes today towards Africa, now that it is shifting to a life on the level of that of the contemporary world, and when it is living through years which are perhaps some of the most difficult in its thousand-year history."



It would be naive to suppose that the Catholic Church, which over the course of 5 centuries served as a weapon of the colonialists, has now suddenly shifted over to the side of the fighters against colonialism.

The immediate task of the Catholic Church consists in taking in hand the leading cadres of the African people fighting for independence. Adopted at the Eighth Congress of Catholic Missionaries in April 1959 was a decision on the organization of a special Institute for the Training of the Future Leaders of the Peoples of Asia and Africa. For the purpose of camouflage, it was decided to open this institute in Switzerland, a nation which never owned colonies.

Such, in the opinion of an outstanding French scholar, are the characteristic features of the activity of the Catholic clergy in the colonial nations, and particularly in Africa, today.

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